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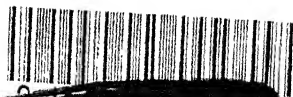
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# ALL WE ARE AND ALL WE HAVE

*Speeches and Messages Since Pearl Harbor*

GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

*December 9, 1941 – November 17, 1942*



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## *Foreword*

On the day after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, in a message to the American President, offered all-out aid to fight the common battle. Nearly a year after China and the United States became allies-in-arms, in a message to the American people, the Chinese leader denounced imperialism and isolationism as having no place in a new interdependent world of free nations. Between these two declarations, he had spoken with equally ringing accent on a variety of occasions—from bidding farewell to the Indian people to welcoming Wendell Willkie, from the fifth anniversary of China's war to the thirty-first anniversary of the Chinese Republic.

Many of these speeches were not fully reported in the American press; a few have not hitherto been available in any form. They are collected here for the first time in a single volume, each piece an original English text or an official translation from the Chinese.

The consistent thread of the Generalissimo's thinking about war aims, United Nations action, and China's role in the war and in the post-war world is clearly shown in this chronological presentation of his own words. The same commentary which the New York Herald Tribune made of the last message included here may be said to apply to the content of this volume as a whole.

"Here was history in the making and history of a character to justify all the faith that Americans have so long placed in the greatness of the Chinese people. An old friendship of peoples was there sealed in the noble declaration of unselfish purpose which every one of the United Nations, including America, could read and study with profit."

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*Frontispiece "The Generalissimo Speaks" courtesy United  
China Relief and Museum of Modern Art.*

# All we are and all we have

*An exchange between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the day after Pearl Harbor. Generalissimo Chiang's message was dated December 9, 1941, Chungking time.*

In this tragic hour when you too are assailed by the treacherous aggressor the people of China renew their gratitude to the people of the United States for the understanding and help that have been given us.

To our now common battle we offer all we are and all we have to stand with you until the Pacific and the world are freed from the curse of brute force and endless perfidy.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

*President Roosevelt's message to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek.*

Japan first treacherously attacked and then declared war upon the United States. The Congress has declared the existence of a state of war between the United States and Japan.

In the valiant struggle of resistance which China has carried on for four and a half years against the invading forces of a predatory neighbor China has been made aware of this country's sympathy in principle and in practice. China is now being joined in her resistance to aggression by a host of other nations that have been menaced by Japan and the movement of conquest in which Japan is a major participant.

The struggle cannot be easily or quickly brought to a successful end. It will demand of all who are entering it, as it has demanded and will demand of you and your courageous people, concentrated effort and intensive devotion to the common cause of vanquishing the enemy and thereafter establishing a just peace.

I take pride in my country's association with you and the great nation which you lead. I am wholly confident that the struggle in which we are engaged in common with other gallant nations will forge stronger the bonds of traditional friendships and will result inevitably in complete elimination of the lawless forces against which your effort, our effort and the efforts of our associates are now individually and collectively directed.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

# Who help themselves

*A New Year's message broadcast to the nation  
on the evening of December 31, 1941.*

Since the Japanese precipitated war in the Pacific on December 7th Chinese resistance has entered upon a new phase. The war in China has become a part of the World War and therefore our mission has taken on fresh importance and the duties we have to fulfill weigh heavier upon us.

The confidence of our people in the eventual defeat of Japan has been rendered only the more secure. The Japanese adventure in the Pacific may be likened to a draught of poison taken to quench thirst. Their thirst for conquest was so acute that it induced them to drink what they were perfectly well aware was poison. They have thus gained a momentary alleviation of that thirst but the poison will ultimately kill them. The successes of which they are now boasting are that alleviation. Their final destruction will nevertheless inevitably overtake them.

In support of this assertion I wish to make three points. Firstly, the three main policies of the Japanese—their continental policy, their policy of encroachment in China and their policy of non-participation in the European war have all been defeated by our resistance. Their national policy having failed there can be no question of their success in war. Secondly, Japan formerly had but one enemy, China, while now she faces four or more—Great Britain, the United States, Australia and the Soviet Union. China on the other hand has acquired as many allies among the powers fighting aggression and has entered into the fullest possible collaboration with them. Her strength has been increased more than fourfold. In contrast, moreover, to the impossibility of Japan's maintaining direct contact with her Axis partners China enjoys perfectly satisfactory means of maintaining close contact with her allies. Thirdly, the strength of Japan's four enemies—Great Britain, the United States, China and the Soviet Union, for the latter being allied to Great Britain is to be considered the enemy of Japan—far exceeds

that of Japan in every respect. The territory of any one of them is ten times greater than Japan's. She would be no match for any one of them individually not to speak of an alliance of them all.

Though these are the facts the Chinese Armies and people should not permit themselves to form too low an estimate of the strength of Japan. There are no good grounds for sanguine expectations of an early victory over her. During the next few months vigorous activity on the part of the Japanese is to be anticipated and bad news may continue to come of the progress of operations in the Pacific. The shadow of Japanese aggression is now looming over the Indian Ocean and in time Burma and India may be threatened or even invaded. It will, of course, prove no easy undertaking to cut our lines of communication with the outside world as the enemy plans and desires to do, and with the further extension of the fronts on which he fights and the excessive demands upon his manpower involved he will experience greater and greater embarrassment in maintaining his lines of communication and supply and become exposed to the danger of piecemeal destruction at the hands of the Allies. Nevertheless, we ought to prepare ourselves for the worst possible situation that can arise.

I believe that when a certain stage has been reached the Allies will find themselves in a position to inflict overwhelming punishment upon the enemy on the sea and in the air as the preliminary to a decisive rout of his forces on land. This is the hope which we need have no doubt will be fulfilled in due course of time.

We must, however, on no account give ourselves up to over optimistic illusions as to the difficulties and perils of the future. Our saying, "Men help those who help themselves", remains a truth that knows no change. We must endeavor to stand firm upon our own feet and achieve the greatest possible measure of self sufficiency. Then when unexpected difficulties are encountered we shall not be disconcerted or our success jeopardized. It is only upon a solid foundation built now that success in the future rests. Such a foundation will not exist unless our society, administration, economy and education are really adapted to the needs of war time and without it even victory would be no guarantee of future well-being. Now, therefore, is the time to renew our spirit and efforts and go forward with perseverance and endurance to the realization of the Three People's Principles.



I hope that all my fellow countrymen will strive to render national mobilization more complete and effective and eliminate all slack conduct, going energetically about all that has to be done and exercising economy. No man but should be doing something of value to the national war effort and none engaged in activities useless or disadvantageous to it. All our wills and strength should be concentrated and all resources made to yield the maximum of utility to the cause. We must prove worthy of our place in the ranks of the forces fighting aggression and make of China a modern nation. Thus we shall be able to drive out the invaders, overthrow the might of the aggressors, establish the reign of justice and peace in the world, fulfill the hopes of those who have suffered and died for the cause and obey the teachings of Dr. Sun, the Father of the Republic.

I trust that my fellow countrymen will welcome the New Year with such a resolve and advance with unbounded enthusiasm and faith towards the victory that will assuredly be ours.

## *A wartime way of life*

*A radio message to the nation on the eighth anniversary of the founding of the New Life Movement, February 18, 1942.*

I have frequently pointed out that in promoting the New Life Movement my aim has been to have the people lead a life adapted to the demands of war time. A way of life compatible with wartime conditions is necessary to the existence of a nation in present times. Complete national mobilization requires such a way of life. It requires of every citizen a change of attitude and a reform of habits. People of either sex and of all ages, at the front or in the rear, must act as members of one compact and unified fighting body.

Though our nation has been engaged for nearly five years in this war of resistance complete national mobilization has not yet been achieved. There is still almost as much laxity and negligence to be observed as in normal times. Our society is not yet a wartime society, nor our economy a wartime economy, nor our education wartime education. This is undeniably a great shortcoming in the record of resistance and in that of the New Life Movement. Our war effort will have to be much enlarged in scope and assume a far more vehement character. We must devote ourselves with greater energy to the cause if victory is to be won, our nation rehabilitated and the world liberated.

You must all be aware that modern war is not a mere matter of military operations. It involves the whole strength and all the resources of the nation. Not only soldiers, but also all citizens without exception, take part. The latter must conceive the national peril as affecting them personally, must consent to the endurance of all necessary hardships, and must abandon private freedom and satisfaction when discipline and the public interest demand it. Vigor of mind and body must be put at the service of the state. Wealth and resources must be conserved to meet the needs of warfare. An atmosphere of urgency and vigilance should pervade society. Those in a position to indulge themselves should forego

indulgence and those not in such a position should regard indulgence as disreputable.

In a society where this is so, life will conform to the exigencies of war time. That is, the nation's interest will be held supreme and victory will be held the proper goal of all citizens' efforts. The state will exercise its rights of controlling the people's life and restricting their consumption of resources, and the people will fulfill their duty of compliance with this control. In this respect China has formerly been backward. I trust that there will be now a thorough realization of the needs of war time and that citizens will watch over one another in such a way that those whose sense of patriotism is weak may be admonished and guided into better courses.

In December of last year the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committee of the Party (Kuomintang) approved an "Outline of Provisions for National Mobilization." On the basis of this the Government is soon to issue ordinances with the main object of controlling and developing those human and material resources that have not yet been exploited, of restricting consumption and adjusting production and supply of commodities, and of defining every citizen's war duties. These ordinances must be obeyed by all without attempts at evasion.

I believe that to this end the methods and organization of the New Life Movement may best serve as a basis for informing and guiding the public mind. In this way the Government's enactments can be more effectively put into force, and points which those enactments do not cover will not go unnoticed.

The execution of the scheme of national mobilization will in part be undertaken by the New Life Movement Headquarters, by the responsible heads of Government organizations, teachers in schools and local administrative personnel. The Headquarters has already decided to concentrate in its work this year upon the promotion of national service. This will mean the cultivation of a spirit of mutual helpfulness and encouragement in the task of adjusting national ways of life to the demands of war time. It must not be forgotten that this can only be done by insistence on the moral values of propriety, justice, honesty and integrity. We must endeavor to foster a spirit of hardiness, earnestness and trustworthiness. The weak-minded and frivolous, those im-

patient of trial and trouble, those who lay blame and responsibility upon others, those who are reckless of the success of the national policies and of military exigencies are unfitted to be citizens of a nation at war and are ripe for utilization as tools of the enemy.

Sense of responsibility, respect for discipline, and clarity of moral judgment form the basis of worthy conduct in war time. The struggle must never be absent from our minds. We must be constantly prepared for sacrifices. We must go about all we do with seriousness and alertness. Victory then may be confidently expected and the success of reconstruction may be held assured.

# One half of the world's people

*A farewell message to the Indian people on the eve of Generalissimo Chiang's departure for China on February 21, 1942, after a historic two-week visit in India.*

During my two weeks stay in India I had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities as well as with my Indian friends questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I was happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to all my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame Chiang and myself. The briefness of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them this farewell message. It is an expression of my high and warm regard and of long cherished hopes for India. It comes from the depth of my heart.

Since my arrival in this country I found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India a unanimous determination to oppose aggression.

China and India comprise one half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends three thousand kilometers. In the two thousand years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been any armed conflict. Indeed nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature. Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are duty bound to side with anti-aggression countries and to fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them towards self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and in the present war to ally herself unhesitatingly with other anti-aggression countries, not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all.

I venture to suggest to my brethren people of India at this most critical moment in the history of civilization that our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real international peace.

The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who opposed aggression by striving for the freedom of their country and of other countries should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country, nor does it concern any specific questions now pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to be cooperating, not with any particular country, but with the entire front. This leads us to believe that the Pacific war is the turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could achieve their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India will voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world, in which India must play her part. The vast majority of world opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspirations for freedom. This sympathy is so valuable and so difficult to obtain that it cannot be appraised in terms of money or material and should therefore by all means be retained.

The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between

light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, world civilization would suffer a setback for at least one hundred years and there would be no end of human suffering.

So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by the Japanese militarists are beyond description. The suffering and oppression, which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan, should serve as a warning. As regards barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December 1937 is a case in point. Over 200,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population of Free China has been subjected almost daily to bombings from the air and bombardments by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. The young men and the educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools, and domestic animals, have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation, rape, rapine, incendiarism, murder are frequent occurrences. Moreover they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not found in countries invaded by other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eyewitnesses.

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force, the people of China and their brethren people of India should for the sake of civilization and human freedom give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and the joint declaration of twenty-six nations, and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incident upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

Lastly, I sincerely hope and I confidently believe that our ally Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory but also the turning point in their struggle for India's freedom. From the objective point of view, I am of the opinion this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.



## To the Flying Tigers, salute

*A speech at a dinner in honor of the American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force given by Generalissimo and Madame Chiang in Kunming on February 28, 1942, upon their return from India and Burma. Madame Chiang and Colonel Claire L. Chennault, Commanding Officer of the A. V. G., also addressed the gathering.*

Colonel Chennault, officers and men: To be with you American volunteers here today, to observe your excellent spirit and to hear of your achievements fills me with delight and admiration. The American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force has acquired a world-wide reputation for greatest courage.

It is three months since the Japanese, our common enemy, picked their quarrel with Great Britain and the United States. The splendid victories the Volunteer Group has won in the air are a glory that belongs to China and our ally, America, alike.

I have already communicated the news of your repeated successes to your Government and President Roosevelt. The record of what you have done shows that every one of you has been a match for thirty or more of the enemy. Your friends and relations will undoubtedly have felt boundless pride and elation to hear of your exploits. The blows you have struck at the Japanese have put you in the forefront of the Allied forces fighting the aggressor. You have established a firm foundation for the campaign against his lawlessness which China and America are united to wage. You have written in the history of this world war a remarkable page, the memory of which will live in our minds forever.

As the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces operating in the China theater of war, I am entertaining you today as my comrades-in-arms and on behalf of my four hundred and fifty million fellow countrymen I salute you, confident that you will continue together

with all the Allied forces in Burma to display your valor until final victory is won over our common enemy.

Since you are under my command I wish to impress upon you your identity with all the other men serving in the Chinese armed forces. Your lives are one with theirs and mine, your good name is one with theirs and mine. I act toward you as I act toward other members of the Chinese Air Force. I shall extend to those of your comrades who have given their lives the same mark of distinction and the same care for their families and children. For this I hold myself responsible. I trust that you will perform your duties free from any anxiety on this score. Your task is great. When victory is ours I hope to celebrate together with you our successful issue of the war in Tokyo.

*Colonel Chennault's response.*

Members of the A. V. G.: Never before in history do I know of any military unit such as ours having been accorded the honor such as comes to us tonight. No matter how many decorations we may have bestowed on us in the future I am sure we will never receive more honor than we have received tonight. For five years I have followed the Generalissimo to the best of my ability and I know him to be a leader of the highest principles and greatest determination. He is a leader who prefers death to compromise. He is a leader not only of China but of the entire Allied effort. It is easy for us Americans to follow such a leader.

In addition to Madame Chiang's work in aviation she is also the leader of all the women in China. The orphans and widows of China come to her either directly or through the agencies which she has set up and all receive aid. To me, she is the mother of China.

During this time millions of Chinese soldiers have gone to the fronts and have been killed and seriously wounded. Orphans have been left in the ruins of their homes and in the fields. All of these need aid and they have been given that aid as rapidly as possible. And now there will be thousands more to feed and educate, to receive medical attention.

One problem, of course, is to provide the money for this. It

takes money to do all these things, probably less in China than elsewhere but even in China money is needed to buy these things. Madame Chiang's generosity is boundless. Her shoulders are always willing to take on additional burdens, but if money is lacking to provide the necessities her work must suffer. I would be unable to recite all that Madame Chiang has accomplished; however, one thing I have not yet mentioned. When the organization of this Group was first discussed in America I was asked for recommendations as to how it would be handled in China. The first thing that I insisted upon was that Madame Chiang should act as our chief staff officer; that Madame Chiang should serve as liaison staff officer between the Generalissimo and the Group. And although she has hundreds of activities that require a great deal of her time she consented to this because of her eagerness for China to have effective military aviation. So even though you are unconscious of the fact, Madame Chiang has been Honorary Group Commander and Staff Officer of this Group since its organization and I would like to present her tonight as our Honorary Group Commander.

*Madame Chiang's speech.*

Colonel Chennault, members of the A. V. G. and other friends: As your Honorary Commander may I call you my boys? You have flown across the Pacific in China's gravest hour on wings of hope and faith. For this reason not only does the Chinese Air Force but the entire Chinese nation welcome you with outstretched arms. The Generalissimo has already spoken to you of the fine and brave deeds you have done and he has called the A. V. G. the world's bravest air force.

I am very proud tonight that I have had a little share in making it possible for you to fight for China. When I think of the the life-and-death struggle which China has passed through these last five years I have before my mind's eye the millions of our people who have been killed or wounded and others who had to flee from Japanese cannon, machine guns and bombers. I also see the rivers of blood which have flowed over our territory, the very life blood of China's fairest manhood. I think of the tens of thousands of our women whose honor has been violated by the Japanese and the hundreds of thousands

of our little children who have been killed and maimed or else taken to Japan to be trained as traitors to their motherland.

And now you have come here to vindicate us. We have always been resolved to fight until final victory is ours but we lack the air arm which you are now providing. You have come to fight side by side with us. For this I wish to express our heartfelt thanks.

Colonel Chennault has taken an active part in Chinese resistance during the last five years. You boys know him personally. You know what an admirable commander he is and how very selfless. The only complaint I have against him is that he is never satisfied with his own work. I venture to say, too, that he also thinks that you ought to have more work regardless of how much you already have.

Colonel Chennault has just introduced me as Honorary Commander of the A. V. G. I think I am prouder of this title than any other title I've had, because I know that you are not only fighting with your bodies and your skill, you are fighting with your hearts and spirits. Just now Colonel Chennault brought to me two of your very fine comrades who have braved death today in the air. They forgot themselves entirely while fighting the enemy because they knew that although they might have to make the final sacrifice, their comrades would carry on the great work which the A. V. G. has set for itself. This spirit, I feel, is the secret of the A. V. G.'s successes.

I was asked a little while ago by one of my officers, "Madame Chiang, some of the A. V. G. pilots are shooting down so many planes that we won't have room enough on the wings for all the stars which they merit. What shall we do about it?" I told him, "We shall have to provide them with an additional pair of wings." And that is what we will have to do if you all keep up the score.

Although you are here in China, I am sure that often your minds and your hearts fly back to your loved ones in America, and for this reason I am glad that America is now realizing that China is not fighting for China alone but for America and for the whole world. You, in giving the best that is in you, are doing it for your own country as well as for China. Time and again your Commanding Officer has dinned into your ears the necessity for discipline. Hateful word, isn't it? Discipline in the air, discipline on the field, and yet without

discipline we can accomplish nothing and I, as your Honorary Commanding Officer, am going to din more discipline into you.

I would go further than Colonel Chennault. I mean the discipline of your inner selves. It isn't enough to observe discipline only. We must have inner discipline so that we may have fully developed characters. However, I am not trying to make you little plaster saints and I am quite human enough to like interesting people, but I do want you boys to remember one thing: the whole of the Chinese nation has taken you to its heart and I want you to conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the great traditions that you have built up. I want you to leave an impression on my people, a true impress of what Americans really are. I trust and I know that you will act worthily wherever you are in China.

Forgive me for speaking to you like that. Perhaps I should be very polite and say, "Boys, you are just grand. You are little angels with or without wings." But you are my boys. I can speak to you freely. I know that you will understand when I say that I hope every one of you, whether in the air or on the ground, will remember that you are China's guests and that everything you do will reflect credit upon the country which I love next to my own, America, where as you know I was educated and which I always look upon as my second home.

Colonel Chennault just now said something which rather embarrassed me. He spoke to you about my needing money to carry on relief work. I know that money is necessary, Colonel, but I don't want to rope you boys in tonight for this purpose. If I had this dinner would be very hard to digest so I didn't do that, but I do want to thank you for what you voluntarily contributed to the war orphans during Christmas. Please don't feel that you have to contribute now, that's one thing I beg of you.

Just one final word. War is not only a matter of equipment, artillery, ground troops or air force; it is largely a matter of spirit, or morale. When I came into this room I felt at once how very keyed-up you are. Now that you have been fighting for a few months you are full of enthusiasm and pep. That is a good thing, but the greater thing is to gather momentum as each day goes by and not let yourself be discouraged no matter what happens, because as you soar

into the skies you are writing in letters of flame on the horizon certain eternal truths for the world to see: First, the indomitable courage of the Chinese people; Second, the indestructable spirit of the Chinese Army; and Third, the deathless soul of the Chinese nation. And so, whatever you do, wherever you are, remember that such is the China which you have come to assist.

I would like all of you to get up and drink a toast to the two great sister nations facing each other across the Pacific. They now have a bond of friendship and sympathy which serves us well in the crucible of war and which will serve us equally when victory has been won.

## Of man and material

*A radio address on the National Mobilization Act delivered May 4, 1942, on the eve of the anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's assumption of the Presidency of the Emergency Republican Government.*

On March 29th the Government promulgated the National Mobilization Act which is to be put into effect from tomorrow, May 5th. In promulgating this Act on the Huang-Hua-Kang Revolutionary Martyrs' Day the intention was to call upon citizens to emulate their spirit of sacrifice in the service of the cause of national rebirth. Likewise the act is to go into effect on the anniversary of the day Dr. Sun became the President of the Emergency Republican Government. This will form a commemoration of Dr. Sun's spirit of endeavor since it will mark the beginning of greater striving on our part to complete the task of resistance and reconstruction.

I solemnly express my hope that you will all realize this point and accordingly regard this Mobilization Act as something sacred and support the Government to the full in implementing it.

In speaking of the key to the success of the Revolution and national salvation Dr. Sun used two phrases, "offer abilities" and "sacrifice individual freedom for the protection of our national freedom and of the freedom of humanity." The modern world is one wherein every nation has to develop the strength of which its citizens are capable. The independent status of the individual, his thoughts and actions become a thing of the past. Only a fighting nation can make itself responsible for world peace and such a nation must organize its material resources and manpower with the highest possible degree of efficiency.

The present Act is legislation of a modern nation's existence. Its provisions consist of what are the elementary duties of a citizen toward his country in modern times. The extent to which it can successfully

be put into effect will decide whether our nation can continue to exist in the modern world and whether we are qualified to stand alongside other nations in it.

Resistance has been going on for nearly five years. This means that we have been fighting for the independence and freedom of our country and at the same time for international justice and freedom. Our once singlehanded struggle has now become a part of a worldwide campaign against aggression.

The manifesto of the twenty-six nations that appeared on New Year's Day is the expression of our common faith and the aim of our war effort.

The war has spread to five oceans and five continents and the whole world has become the scene of a tremendous duel. The casualties and suffering involved have exceeded all bounds. We must completely destroy this menace of aggression and provide a sound foundation for a world peace before true victory can be said to have been won. Only thus can freedom be assured unborn generations of our race.

We must prepare for the prolongation of the war and for greater difficulties in the future. We must build up the machinery for the mobilization of our resources and bring into fuller play all the strength of mind and body, of matter and money at our disposal. Every person must realize that what he is called upon to give is to be put at the service of the nation, of the world and of the civilization and well-being of humanity. The least we can expect of ourselves is that we should not prove unworthy of our allies. We ought to exert ourselves with greater self-denial and diligence than heretofore and develop the potential strength of our land in an efficient manner. To this end all must unanimously help to carry this Act into practice.

The legislative content of the Act is much the same as that of similar measures in other countries. There is, however, one peculiar feature. With us it is not only an instrument of national policy but an expression of the popular will of our nation.

At the beginning of the second year of resistance a program of resistance and reconstruction was published as a framework for war-time measures and conduct. The principles and spirit of that program formed the basis of the present Act which, it may be said, is a con-



crete and codified application of its sense. Citizens will henceforth be clearer as to the efforts required of the individual and the restrictions necessary for concentration of our will and uniformity of our actions.

Another aspect of the matter is that whereas we are fighting to defend ourselves and our sense of justice, on the opposing side men are being exploited in the service of their master's plans of aggression. With us the will of the Chinese people has demanded the action the nation is taking in order to put itself on a war footing in the defense of its existence.

Public opinion, the discussions of experts, the proposals of representative bodies have always shown support for the control and management of the country's resources and criticism has been directed only at deficiencies and loopholes in such control and management. The public has displayed a general readiness to endure hardships without complaint and to sacrifice without hesitation. We may, therefore, confidently declare that this Act is an expression of the patriotic determination of the nation to defend itself.

If the administrative departments concerned go about this work energetically a few selfish degenerates among us will have no power to obstruct its success or evade its provisions. The Government will have to exercise the strictest supervision and make detailed allowance for all the exigencies of the situation. Separate enactments will have progressively to be devised as the need for them arises and existing regulations will have to be adjusted to conform to the central principles of the Act.

Supplies for the front must be assured and the livelihood of the people in the rear stabilized if we are to keep up our war effort until final victory is attained.

Though this Act has not been promulgated until now we have long been carrying out mobilization on a large scale in all departments of national life. The control of production, the restriction of consumption, the adjustment of commodity supply, the stabilization of prices, the management of finance, the enlistment of labor, intellect and technical skill has been undertaken by the Government and has been done with the spontaneous assent of the people.

However, in the past action in this direction has been partial and fragmentary and insufficiently thoroughgoing and widespread. With this Act there will come about a legalization and systematization of all these activities. No individual will be an exception to its provisions. At this critical moment in the history of our country there should be no citizen whose conscience and instincts permit him to attempt evasion of the law.

The duties that this Act clearly lays down as the wartime obligations of the people consist on the one hand in the positive requirements it makes of every man and on the other hand in the restrictions and prohibitions it imposes upon him. Provided there is positive observance of the law and fulfillment of the tasks defined by it the Government will protect and reward the citizens. Behavior in a contrary sense, however, will mark him down as a degenerate element, devoid of the qualifications for citizenship in a modern nation and the Government will penalize him and society will reject him accordingly.

On New Year's Day I declared to the nation, "If we continue in remiss and negligent conduct, if our society cannot be made a wartime society, our administration a wartime administration and our economy a wartime economy, if the general life of our people cannot be made to conform to the needs of war time not only will there be no hope of victory but there will even be no place for our country in the world of the future."

It was my hope at that time that every citizen among industrial and agricultural workers alike would make up his mind to be a citizen beneficial to his country or at least one in no way injurious to his country's interests. In fact, victory will require much more of us than the avoidance of action disadvantageous to the conduct of the war. It demands that every man shall do his full duty at whatever post is his. The promulgation of this Act will make clear to all their path of effort in the service of the country.

The provisions of the Act are expressed in a perfectly clear-cut manner. I need not go into them in detail. I trust that you will all recognize the importance of the legal character of this Act and faithfully observe the following points:

First, there must be energetic determination to obey it exhaustively to the exclusion of all evasion and disguised intentions of evasion. All laws require the willing and sincere obedience of the citizens for them to take full effect. Our ability to practice such obedience will decide the issue of this war and the fate of our nation.

Second, the Act must be clearly interpreted for in view of the not uniform level of intelligence among our people there may be difficulty in understanding its provisions. Therefore the well educated, those in positions of authority and leadership in society and local officials of all ranks should take full advantage of opportunities of conveying to the people the sense of the law at public meetings. They should impress upon the public the full scope of the citizens' responsibility for only thus can there be all prevailing observance of the law.

Third, there must be assistance lent the Government in the work of applying the Act. However comprehensive the wording of the law and however great the efforts of the administration, localities are bound to remain beyond the direct influence of the Government. It will be necessary for citizens to stimulate and keep watch over each other and discountenance all conduct detrimental and unfaithful to the Act. There must be straightforward and loyal response to the Government's demands and pressure brought to bear on all those who attempt to trifle with the law.

Fourth, in all walks of life there should be organized endeavor to admit of full play for the predominantly economic influence of the Act which is aimed at the development of resources and efficiency of production. Trade and professional organizations are needed for this purpose. It is to be hoped that citizens engaged in production, transport and commerce will enthusiastically participate in such organizations and lend their collective energies towards the implementation of the Act. This is essential not only for the success of resistance but also for our advance towards the status of a modern nation.

Resistance has now entered upon a crucial period. The Government must summon up the fullest possible resolution to give complete effect to the national policies and to this Act in order that the whole nation may be transformed into one solid fighting unit. You must bestir yourselves to restrict consumption and intensify production and put all resources of labor, skill and knowledge at the disposal of the nation

and the war. The story of our generation will thus be a glorious one.

I appeal to my fellow countrymen today to form a high resolve to mobilize their strength for the purpose of establishing the foundations of a modern state, gaining for all Chinese citizens the status of citizens of such a state, and carrying to a successful issue the mission that is ours.

## Morale plus equipment

*A broadcast from Chungking to America made by Generalissimo and Madame Chiang on May 31, 1942, on the U. S. Army Hour program.*

Madame Chiang and I have gladly accepted the invitation of the War Department to send greetings to you, the American people. As I am speaking, bloody battles are being waged in the east, north, south and southwest of China. In these areas Japanese planes have been daily, relentlessly bombing our Army which has been gallantly fighting without air protection.

For five years China has stood up against Japan. We have fought with inferior equipment and with little more than bare fists. Though we are producing small arms we have not had the time nor the means to build up heavy industry. We lack airplanes, artillery and tanks. What has sustained us and made it possible for us to continue resisting has been the adoption of what I might term magnetic strategy which consists of attracting the enemy to the interior, bog him there, and hold him at bay by the more vital factor of morale.

As a realist I must point out, however, that morale, important as it is, is not sufficient in itself to win a decisive and final victory. It must be supplemented by mechanized equipment. Mechanized equipment by itself, however, is futile. Morale and equipment combined spell final victory. This truth can readily be seen when we consider how much the American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force has been able to help us despite its ever slender resources. As Commander-in-Chief of the China Theater of War, I pledge you my word that, given 10 per cent of the equipment you produce in America, the Chinese Army will reap for you 100 per cent of the desired results.

In looking toward the future I would like every one of my listeners to realize that our Chinese people are convinced that the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter are not vague assurances and empty diplomatic phraseology, but that they are the underlying convictions

to which the peace-loving people of America are dedicated. To my mind these principles should be applied, not only to America and Europe, but also to all peoples and races so that freedom, justice and equality may reign the world over. For all the principles and support, both moral and material, which the government and people of America under the leadership of President Roosevelt have given us throughout these five years of resistance, we wish to express our heartfelt appreciation.

*Madame Chiang's speech.*

You have just heard the Generalissimo's reaffirmation that in spite of the long years of war our conviction in ultimate victory is stronger than ever. I have one more word which I would like to utilize by pointing out to you an insidious example of enemy propaganda which has just come to my attention, and which I hope deceived no one. The plot is to sow dissension between us by announcing that China has plenty of arms and is now stalemating because she depends on America to win the war for her. I need not tell you that this is a malicious lie, fathered by those who wish to undermine our friendship. China has always proved loyal and will continue to fulfill her obligations. In the past she has never hesitated to divert her entire resources to the common cause. She does not hesitate now, nor will she hesitate in the future.

China has survived all kinds of wars because she has consistently adhered to certain moral principles. Those principles preclude her acting otherwise than in an honorable manner. The enemy has repeatedly made offers of peace to China and sought to assure her that the Western Democracies were making use of her as a tool, whereas, Japan would cooperate with and consider her as an equal. The fact that we have unhesitatingly rejected those offers is proof positive that we have implicit faith in America's sincerity. We know that you are equally certain of China's sincerity. In oneness of purpose, in devotion to a common cause and cooperation, therefore, let us march forward, shoulder to shoulder, beneath the flaming banner of freedom to sure victory.

# Food and victory

*An address to the National Food Administration  
Conference in Chungking on June 2, 1942.*

It was a happy circumstance that this conference commenced its deliberation at a time of abundant and timely rainfall, as a result of which a rich harvest may confidently be anticipated. This may be called assistance Heaven has lent our cause. At the same time our allies, and in particular the United States of America, have recently extended to us increasing supplies of arms and economic aid. This is assistance we have had of men. We must see to it that we do all we can to help ourselves.

In regard to the numerous offensives the enemy is now conducting, of which that in western Chekiang is on the largest scale, I would only remark that no matter where he strikes he will make no chief gain and whatever local successes he may achieve they will have no appreciable effect upon the war situation as a whole. His present action betrays the alarm he feels at the threat of our planned counter-offensive and of the air menace to Japan proper. I am in a position to assure you that the enemy after five years of failure to crush us will never, whatever the desperate means he may adopt, be able to smash our armies in the field. The further he penetrates into our territory the more surely will he be digging himself a grave there. We shall certainly contrive to retain the initiative in all forthcoming military actions. We shall regard the blind fury of his attacks as the impetus driving the enemy on to self-destruction.

I predicted some months ago that before the autumn of this year the enemy would bring more of our territory under his occupation, while other points would be recovered by us. Such local gain and loss of ground, however, will be no decisive factor in the final issue of the war. Henceforth our strategy and tactics will be designed with a view of coordinating operations in China with those on all other fronts and winning a final victory that will be as much our allies' as our own.

We must realize we are now engaged in a war of a different character to that of the single-handed struggle of days previous to December of last year. We are no longer concerned with retaining any single town or district to prevail for a passing hour or day.

We are out to secure a fundamental settlement of the Sino-Japanese conflict as a part of the world war. We shall strive to do our part or our duty as the member of the United Nations responsible for the defense of the Asiatic base for an Allied counter-offensive. You must impress this view of the situation upon your fellow countrymen in the localities to which you are to return.

If every one of us exerts his best effort and if we thereby mobilize our national strength and revolutionary spirit to the fullest extent, there can be no question of our ability to recover the ground lost and help deliver the oppressed peoples from the yokes of the aggressors.

The foundation for the final victory has been laid. Now it is for us to do justice to the advantages we have derived from the assistance of Heaven and of our allies by a great display of self-reliance.

You must feel in what a momentous period of our national history you are living and how important a part food administration plays in the work of revolution. You will then leave nothing undone in planning a national food administration such as will insure the country a well-fed people and army.

You are all in posts of high responsibility and your proper fulfillment of your duties will mean the success of the most important phase of national economic policy. The importance of food policy today is equal to that of our monetary policy of 1935, when the Government introduced a unified national currency.

An effective food policy is essential both to victory and to the future realization of Dr. Sun's principle of the people's livelihood. You ought to conceive of yourselves as men whose work may determine the whole course of the revolution, and, inspired by this thought, put into all you do a new enthusiasm and vigor.

A year has passed since the Government established the Ministry of Food and it is a shorter time since the local administrative machinery under it began to function. Generally speaking, progress has not fallen short of the hoped-for result and this is due to your loyal efforts. Devo-



tion to the public interest can never fail to bring equally gratifying success.

Sound planning and equitable purchase of foodstuffs will, I am sure, bring even greater achievements during the present year. Citizens in general now are possessed of a good understanding of their responsibilities in the work of resistance and reconstruction. They are ready and eager to respond to government leadership.

We are still in an early stage of the application of this new food policy and it is most important that any administrative or technical defects perceived should be immediately rectified in order that the Government may show due appreciation of the law-abiding, public-spirited attitude of the people and local leaders of society. Above all, everything possible must be done to achieve equality of obligations, a principle that has consistently characterized Chinese financial and economic policies.

There is a very small minority of rich landowners who grumble at the slightest increase of the amount of food required of them and who attempt evasion. There should be no timidity in dealing with such cases. The vast majority of landowners are, however, conscientious and intelligent and they will respond heartily to enlightened Government policy. We must adopt a progressive ratio of assessment, so that foodstuffs shall be demanded of individuals in proportion to their capacity. The rich landowners must be instructed and given a proper sense of their great responsibility toward the nation.

Government acquisition of food supplies in time of war is no less important than conscription. Equity is the fundamental principle applicable to both these essential phases of war administration.

Landowners and influential men of all kinds, especially members of political councils, ought to set an example to the people. The young members of rich families should offer themselves for military service. If not one of two sons, at least one of three sons should be ready to do so.

In the case of the well educated, there are the officers' training schools which they can enter with a view to becoming reserve officers. Many sons of the educated, propertied and official classes are now volunteering for military service, but there is still too general a tendency

for the privileged to evade conscription, while the poor are willing to serve even when the law permits them exemption.

There are cases of connivance on the part of the authorities in practices of evasion. The unfairness as much as the illegality involved is appalling. If to remissness in this respect the rich should add violations of the law in the matter of food at this time of great national distress, they would lose all rights to citizenship in a modern state.

Men of influence ought to censure such conduct and the Government should deal severely with it.

After five years of resistance the Government has done nothing to curtail normal commercial transactions in foodstuffs within the limits of the law and has kept an open mind in listening to suggestions from all quarters regarding methods of compulsory purchase. Among all other nations at war none has a government so liberal. According to the usual procedure, when a state is at war its government exercises complete control over all food supplies to meet the needs of the emergency. Our Government, however, has not seen fit to take similar action because of its confidence in citizens' patriotism and the rich resources of the country.

Should there be dissent from the very reasonable demands made by the Government, the people will be bound to condemn it without reserve. On the part of the poor, voluntary sacrifice has been the rule, while the well-to-do have frequently been guilty of meanness.

Of late the United States, knowing of our national difficulties, has unconditionally extended to us a loan of five hundred million American dollars, the equivalent of ten billion dollars in Chinese currency. It is strange, therefore, that any Chinese citizens are to be found who refuse to contribute a portion of their surplus foodstuffs to the defense of their own homes. Their conduct is a great injury to the country's reputation. It is imperative that government supplies of foodstuffs should be equal to the needs of the army and people. No obstacle to this can be tolerated. The amount purchased must at least exceed the figure fixed for the collection of land tax in kind.

I have also some views to express regarding administrative machinery and its working. The Chungking papers today have devoted much editorial space to the subject of this conference and food prob-

lems. I hope that you will all give close attention to the expression of public opinion in the press and elsewhere. Valuable suggestions should by all means be followed.

The points upon which I myself wish to remark are as follows:

1. At present the Ministry of Finance, the Land Administration Department of the Ministry of Interior and certain military organizations are all concerned in food administration. The exigencies of efficient administration must dictate what measures should be taken to effect adjustment and coordination.

The detached and autocratic functioning of Government organs dealing with the same phase of administration, a common fault in the past, must be guarded against. There must be both division of labor and cooperation, but efficiency is impossible without cooperation.

It is essential that the purchasing, transport and storage of food supplies should be subject to the over-all supervision of the Ministry of Food. Various sections of the Government may be involved, but they must function harmoniously and lend their willing cooperation to the Ministry of Food.

2. The main features of the Government's food policy and administrative methods have already been made public throughout the country. Within the limits of the Government's defined legislation, there is room for the adjustment of local practice to meet peculiar conditions in individual localities.

The one point that can in no way be neglected is that the total quantity of foodstuffs purchased must exceed the total collections of land tax in kind. This will permit a lightening of the burden for small farmers and a proportionately heavier demand upon the rich. The principle of equity requires this and it must be so if we are to be sure of attaining the goal we have set ourselves for this year.

3. In regard to the adjustment of supply and demand, all sections of the Government concerned in food administration should be quite clear as to the fact that the difficulties of the food situation do not turn upon ways and means of control and distribution. In some places there is a surplus, while in others there may be serious shortages.

Beyond the business of acquiring stocks of food there is the problem

of distribution, for the solution of which the improvement of means of transport and storage is indispensable. For such improvement, it is in turn necessary to enlist the services of the people and win their confidence by demonstrating concern for their interest and freeing them from all undue exemptions.

Concrete provisions in this respect must be devised and thereafter scrupulously applied by every grade of the local administrative machinery. Wherever there is essential work to be done, we cannot afford to make any miserly retrenchment of expenditure. At the same time, however, all officials engaged in food administration should cultivate habits of strict frugality and never forget that the food they are handling has been produced by the hard work of the people.

Apart from defects and abuses pointed out by today's papers, much value should be attached to all similar expressions of public opinion. You must keep a close watch over your subordinates and make it your aim to see that all concerned in food administration go about their work with constant thought for the good of the nation and the people. Means of tricking and preventing abuses should be devised.

The principle of equity and equalization of obligations should never be lost sight of. If your unrelenting efforts are added to the favorable weather conditions which are making for a rich harvest, there will undoubtedly be an even better record to show for this year's work than for last year's.

There is every ground for confidence regarding the military situation. The chief need of the future lies in a satisfactory solution of food problems. I hope you will carry home with you, when this conference is at an end, the determination to display the spirit of self-help and self-reliance without which a nation cannot long continue to exist.

# For five full years

*An address to the Chinese people on July 7, 1942, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of China's resistance against Japanese aggression.*

Today we commemorate the fifth anniversary of the beginning of China's armed resistance. The struggle of the Chinese Army and people against aggression has been in progress for five full years. The past year has, moreover, been a year of extraordinary developments in the world situation which will determine the final outcome of the war.

On this solemn occasion foremost in our hearts and minds must be the sorrowing homage we owe to all those who have nobly laid down their lives for the common cause. At the same time let us take this opportunity to express our gratification at the achievements of our allies. The present moment affords me also a fitting occasion to acknowledge China's appreciation of the gallantry of our Allied forces which are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us. To the governments and peoples of the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, the Netherlands, Australia, India, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mexico and others of the United Nations I express our warm thanks for the unfailing concern they have felt for us at every stage of our national trial. Their readiness to extend collaboration to China has been a constant source of encouragement to us.

You must realize, my fellow countrymen, that these five hard years of resistance comprise a record unprecedented in the annals of modern warfare. The war China is engaged in is unique not only as being the longest for the past hundred years but also as an example of a weak nation standing up against a strong. In this long and bitter conflict the unshakable solidarity of the Chinese people has demonstrated the greatness of their traditional spirit of independence. We have become the vanguard of the forces opposing aggression. The whole world recognizes our position as champion of international justice and understands the value of our spiritual strength.

The present war is a war between good and evil, between right and might. The difficulties and perils we have encountered have only served to give proof of the undaunted revolutionary spirit possessed by our people. Through all these difficulties and dangers a sure path has been found and our efforts have not been in vain. The guidance we have derived from the noble principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary teachings has enabled us to give this demonstration of the invincible and sustaining qualities of our national character. The moral ascendancy we have acquired is such that no force or knavery can ever shatter. It is the guarantee for our victory and an all-important factor in our reconstruction

Today China no longer stands alone as she has stood for four and a half years. Our present position imposes greater responsibilities upon us. I desire today to impress upon you the weight of those responsibilities that fell to our lot in the present World War. You will, I trust, continue to do your duty with devotion and endurance.

China is charged with the duty of operating as the main fighting force on the Asiatic continent. That duty is laid upon us with the same urgency as the duty of America to deal in the Pacific with her first and most threatening enemy, Japan. The other Allies such as Great Britain and Soviet Russia have each naturally a particular duty to perform in accordance with their respective geographical position. Each is keenly sensible of certain inalienable obligations. The naval situation in the Pacific, for instance, has developed in such a way as to expose American soil to a direct threat from Japan which was the first power to invade American territory, attack the American fleet and flout American prestige.

What we have seen of recent American action in the Pacific, the bombing of Tokyo and the engagements in the Coral Sea, off Midway Island and at Dutch Harbor has been sufficient indication that America is beginning to discharge her supremely important duty in the Pacific. That is to say America is bound to deal first with the enemy from which she has most to fear for the defense of her own soil and for her security as the arsenal of the Democracies and in order to carry out her mission of world leadership not only during the present war but also in post-war reconstruction.

You must be on your guard against giving credence to super-

ficial speculation that Allied strategy and policy consider the Pacific War to be of secondary importance, that our allies intend to let Japan have her own way for the time being or even that there is not comprehensive Allied strategy and that there is no concrete organization to direct Allied efforts. All such talk leads to unjustified apprehension. In the near future the collapse of the enemy will be apparent—then the strategy, organization and strength of the United Nations will be properly appraised.

It is my hope that you, my compatriots, will depend upon yourselves to exert your utmost in the fulfillment of your sacred duty as citizens of China in the Asiatic theater of war. There must be full realization of the fact that both space and time were on Japan's side during her campaign in the South Seas. Her initial successes, however, are no reliable criterion of her real strength. In a number of broadcasts this year I have emphasized this point. Today my chief concern is to have you grasp the significance of the Midway Islands, Coral Sea and Dutch Harbor engagements in which the enemy met with sharp reverses, lost four out of her six newest aircraft carriers and two battleships. This blow marks the beginning of the decline in her fighting strength. Far greater defeats will rapidly overtake her, defeats that will mean the beginning of her final collapse. Here a single front will suffice to show the weakness of Japan. The total tonnage of her naval and merchant vessels is scarcely more than five million tons. It will be impossible for her to maintain with so few ships the vast fronts over which she has spread her forces.

Meanwhile, the land, sea and air strength of the United Nations is daily increasing and already exceeds that of the Axis bloc. By the end of this winter Japan's strength will be only one tenth that of the Allies. I need not elucidate further the significance of this comparison. The final defeat of Japan will start on sea and will end on land. Her depredations in the South Seas will prove to be the prelude of her disaster. She is meanwhile plunging deeper and deeper into the morass of her continental adventure wherein for five years she has pursued a suicidal course dictated by our strategy. She is now beyond recovery. Our efforts will determine the speed with which she can be finally overthrown.

At this moment we are at the turning point in our war of resis-

tance. Patriotism demands of us sustained sacrifice. Irrespective of age or sex we must each contribute to the all-important task which when completed will bring victory and permanent security to a freed world.



## A friend from distant lands

*A speech of welcome to Mr. Wendell L. Willkie upon his visit to Chungking, delivered at a dinner on October 3, 1942.*

I consider it a great honor to have the privilege to extend on behalf of the Chinese Army and people a most hearty welcome to our distinguished guest Mr. Wendell Willkie in this wartime capital.

We have an old saying—"Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant lands?" Since the announcement of Mr. Willkie's proposed visit to China the Chinese Army and people have been looking forward to his arrival with great interest and eagerness. He shares with us the same aspiration and ideal. We are indeed happy to have him in our midst.

Our guest of honor comes to China as the personal representative of President Roosevelt. He is a farsighted statesman of high ideals. As Honorary President of the United China Relief he has worked indefatigably for China's cause. We count him as one of our closest friends irrespective of personal acquaintanceship.

From his public utterances we know that he fully comprehends the long-cherished ambition of Japan for world conquest and the significance and importance of China's stubborn resistance in face of untold suffering. He has, moreover, a sympathetic understanding of the ideals which have inspired our war of resistance and our work of reconstruction. The energetic and fruitful efforts he has made in America for aid to China have brought the Chinese and American people closer together, peoples who have built up their nations upon the same ideology. His present visit has moved us to redouble our efforts in order to fulfill worthily our responsibility as a member of the United Nations and to come up to the expectations of our allies and our good friends, among them our guest of honor, Mr. Willkie.

The forces of aggression are still at large. In order to deliver humanity from barbarism and darkness all peace-loving peoples must

needs go through hardships and tribulations. Our distinguished visitor will see with his own eyes the wanton destruction wrought by the Japanese in China during the past five years. He will notice our optimism, our conviction and our determination to achieve final victory. He will not fail to see how in the face of immense difficulties we have been doing our utmost to increase our fighting strength and to carry on our work of reconstruction, how the Chinese Army and people are struggling for the attainment of our common aim and victory.

Mr. Willkie will, I venture to hope, let the Chinese people know more fully the concerted war efforts of the American Government and people so that they thereby be inspired to greater exertion for the common cause. If he discovers any shortcomings in the work in which we are now engaged, I hope he will give us his candid opinion.

The very simple reception of this evening is an inadequate manifestation of the warmth with which our four hundred fifty million people greet our distinguished guest, and great friend of China. There are present with us the representatives of the United Nations in China. This auspicious occasion is a token of the solidarity among the United Nations of our determination to cooperate to the fullest extent, to fight on until we obtain ultimate victory and create a new era in the future world order. Now I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of President Roosevelt and to Mr. Wendell Willkie.

*Mr. Willkie's response.*

I have come to China to pay homage not only to the Chinese people but to one of the truly great men of his time, your Generalissimo. This tribute I deliver to you personally as one American who has watched for years the struggle of China under his leadership. But I deliver it to you also as the representative of President Roosevelt and as the representative of the American people.

Your Generalissimo is one of the best known men in my country and one of the best liked. I think that most Americans like and respect him for two qualities. They see in him an aggressive spirit, the spirit of a man who is not daunted by difficulties but works ceaselessly to overcome them. And they also see in him, as they have come to know about him through our newspapers, our motion pictures, our

radio, a man with a broad vision of the future, who believes in his heart that freedom and security are possible of achievement not only for China but for the whole world. I think I understand tonight more about this aggressive spirit than I ever did before.

I came to China not through what used to be called a "treaty port," but through the great and wealthy provinces to the west of here. I have lived and worked in the West of America and I know from first-hand experience the kind of aggressive self-confidence which is developed in pioneer regions by men who are not afraid to take chances, sometimes very grave chances, in pursuit of what they believe in.

Prediction is not my business, but I would be prepared to make a substantial bet that the confident, aggressive, determined spirit I have seen in Sinkiang and in Kansu and Szechwan and which the outside world knows about chiefly through the personality of your Generalissimo, is not likely to be stopped by floods, by earthquakes or by the Japanese.

Americans are no less interested in the Generalissimo as both a symbol and a leader of the great struggle for a better future in which we are all engaged. As you know even better than we in the United States, war is an expensive, ugly business. Its rewards must be great if mankind is not to perish by its own sword. The rewards of this war must be greater than those of any other war and they must be paid in the cash of freedom and security. The Generalissimo, working with the principles of Dr. Sun, has helped to launch the Chinese people on a great experiment in democracy, one in which the goals of self-government and liberty have not been lost sight of even in national crises where security, the security of the Chinese nation has been paramount. I like to think that not only China but the whole Pacific area and the entire world may emerge from this war with their faces set directly toward a larger experiment along the same line. It will not really be an experiment because we are confident that we already know the answer. We know that only liberty, real liberty of all peoples, is worth fighting for. We know that only security which means the right to live decently and well for all peoples can be a guarantee that we shall not have to fight these wars over again every generation.

Your Generalissimo stands in the very front rank among leaders of his time who have given this challenge to the world and who are

struggling to fulfill it. I report to you as an ordinary American who loves China and the Chinese people that your leader is a great man not only among his own people but before the world.

I view this war as a great world struggle for freedom. It will not be won by timid souls. It will be won only by bold and courageous men who inspire their peoples to undertake and carry through bold plans. Timid souls can always find reasons for a delay in aggressively pushing through to victory. I have just visited the Mediterranean area, the Middle East and Russia, and now I am here in China. I toured the battlefronts of both Egypt and Russia. I talked with military officials, with government leaders and above all with scores and scores of people—regular people, simple people—and what I did learn from them, particularly from the ordinary citizen in whose intuitive judgment lies wisdom even for experts, was that the ordinary citizen from Cairo to Moscow to Chungking is a lover of liberty and wants action, action now. He feels the time has come for the United Nations in a great unison of effort to take the offensive everywhere. He is ahead of his leaders—this plain citizen of Africa, of Europe or Asia or America. He wants to get on with the war, he wants to get the job done. He no longer believes or fears the myth that Germany and Japan are invincible. It annoys him that much of the might of the United Nations stands idle awaiting action only on some future day. This ordinary citizen is ready now. He is the strength of the United Nations. His faith in the justice of our cause makes him a superman. We must all catch his infectious spirit of enthusiasm for an immediate slashing, courageous attack to enable us to sweep over the aggressor nations and on to a new world of victory with justice, freedom, equality and opportunity for all nations and all men.

# *Loyalty and reciprocity*

*A Double Tenth message to the nation delivered on October 10, 1942, to mark the founding of the Chinese Republic.*

On this solemn anniversary day every citizen should call to mind the arduous achievements of the Revolution in the past and render himself better aware of his own responsibility for its future progress. I wish on this occasion first to describe the moral basis for our national policy and existence.

For five thousand years the spirit of our national culture and tradition has been such as may be summed up in the phrases "loyalty and reciprocity" and "goodwill and love." Loyalty consists in performing one's duties to the very best of one's ability. Reciprocity is the will to think of the affairs of others in terms of one's own, to avoid doing to others what one would not have them do to one's self. Since we will not tolerate oppression and aggression from others we must refrain ourselves from oppressive or aggressive action in our dealings with others and discountenance such action throughout the world.

The aim we and our allies have set before us in the present war is freedom and security for humanity and its civilization. We are not concerned with the selfish interests of a single nation or country. In striking contrast with the ambition of the Axis to subject other races to the tyranny of one that claims superiority, our desire is to see proper importance attached to the interests of all races.

Resistance is an expression of our solicitude for the well-being of all mankind and our determination to make it possible for the world to enjoy genuine peace. It is also a demonstration of our faith in the Three Principles of the People. Of those principles the Principle of Nationhood is of especial importance at the present stage for while the existence of the nation remains in danger the application of the other two principles will depend upon our success in applying the first.

The Principle of Nationhood requires of us the deliverance of our

nation and also the endeavors to obtain equality of status for all other nations. Our national tradition of "goodwill and love" impels us to this concern for the interests of other countries. Dr. Sun in asserting these tenets as a national creed believed that the world can attain to lasting peace and order only through the development of this spirit of goodwill and love. The object of his revolutionary work was as much world salvation as national salvation. The goal of world unity he envisaged consists in equal enjoyment of the goals of independence and freedom by all peoples without distinction of color or power. Being engaged in this just war for the assertion of right against might we must prepare in collaboration with our allies to devise means of making sure that there shall be no repetition of this disaster in the future. Our duty for the present remains to exert our best effort in our own defense and national rehabilitation.

I turn next to national reconstruction and the main principle we must keep sight of in all we do to that end. The qualities it demands of us are industry, frugality and conscientiousness which it happens are qualities peculiarly characteristic of our people. We must lay fresh emphasis upon their importance. On several occasions this year I have urged upon my fellow countrymen the necessity of conforming their ways of living to the exigencies of war time and carrying into full effect the provisions of the National Mobilization Law. Today, however, there is still insufficient evidence of the social atmosphere of urgency and energetic devotion to duty which we require. We must have a livelier sense of the gravity of the emergency and the realization that life in war time must necessarily be one of hardship. We must be prepared to endure privations for the sake of the great undertaking of national rehabilitation. We must all bestir ourselves to bring all our activities into line with the provisions of the National Mobilization Act.

All those with technical ability must make their contribution to its full implementation. The individual must practice thrift in his personal life and go about his work with enthusiastic and scrupulous attention to the public interest. The hardships of the fighting men at the front should be considered the standard by which behavior elsewhere is to be judged. Their sacrifices should be the measure of what is required of all citizens. If this maxim is obeyed the country will be in no danger of falling short of the aims of reconstruction.

## Beautiful and touching gesture

*Messages to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in appreciation of the American and British moves to relinquish extra-territorial rights in China, October 13, 1942.*

*Message to President Roosevelt.*

On the occasion of the thirty-first anniversary of the Republic of China the entire nation rejoiced that the United States has made a voluntary move to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China. Furthermore the ringing of the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall to commemorate China's Liberty Day finds resounding echoes in every Chinese heart of goodwill and friendship for America. These tributes will do more to uphold the morale of our people in continuing resistance than anything else could possibly do.

I personally am so deeply moved by this beautiful and touching gesture that I cannot find words adequate to express my feeling. As a boy the very words Liberty Bell and Independence Hall fired my imagination and made a profound and lasting impression on my mind. Throughout my struggle to secure national freedom for China I have continuously dreamed of the day when she would assume the full stature of an independent and democratic nation. Today this ideal has been realized.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you for your superb and inspired leadership and moral courage in assisting China to gain equality among the United Nations. I assure you that China shall not fail you in our joint task of securing freedom for all mankind.

China appreciates deeply the gesture of friendship and goodwill that Britain has made in determining to abrogate extraterritoriality in China. I feel certain that this expressive evidence of Sino-British friendship based on equality and mutual trust will inaugurate a new and significant era not only in the Far East but throughout the entire world. By this voluntary abandonment of obsolete privileges, Britain has won a great moral victory to which Your Excellency's farsighted statesmanship has made a lasting contribution.



# Endurance, conscientiousness

*An address before the inaugural meeting of the First Plenary Session of the Third People's Political Council in Chungking, October 22, 1942.*

When our last plenary session was held in November of last year the Pacific was threatened with imminent outbreak of war. Since the subsequent beginning of the Japanese campaign of aggression in that ocean, China, in the company of her allies, has become the most important member of the forces fighting on the continent of East Asia. She is no longer the singlehanded protagonist of the cause of our own independence. Her fate is one with that of the whole world. Our responsibilities and the scope of our operations are now far more extensive than ever before.

The battles fought in China during the past year have made it clear that we have already passed from the defensive to the offensive. We have achieved indubitable results in all our military measures of preparation for a general counter-offensive despite the great difficulties of the situation we have had to face.

In the initial stage of the Pacific War the Japanese seemed borne along by a wave of good fortune. Since June of this year, however, they have met with a number of sharp reverses in the Coral Sea, off Midway Island and at Dutch Harbor. Their naval and air strength has been steadily declining and recently in the Solomons and New Guinea where the Allies have not yet fully developed their offensive there have been unmistakable signs of the enemy's exhaustion. The Japanese militarists have called upon their people "not to underestimate" Anglo-American strength. They have announced that the present moment is not opportune for the commencement of reconstruction in the South Seas. They have emphasized the need of preparing for a war of long duration. They have appealed for greater sacrifices. Although Soviet Russia is now engaged in fierce fighting with Nazi Germany she has in no way relaxed the vigilance she maintains on her

eastern frontier. As the result of the failure of the German offensive in Russia and the stabilization of the British position in northern Africa the Japanese have had to abandon their plans for northern expansion and a junction of forces with Germany. The future presents to them a spectacle of fathomless uncertainty.

The past year has been especially memorable for the change it has seen come about in our relations with other powers. Despite the damage done to our means of communication with the outside world by the loss of Hong Kong and Burma the circumstance has done much to bring about fuller collaboration between China and Great Britain, the United States, Soviet Russia and her other allies. But we are also opening up fresh routes of communication and we have achieved genuine military coordination. A great deal of the financial and material assistance at our disposal has resulted. Our allies have come to appreciate the effectiveness and importance of our resistance and to understand better the moral significance and aims of the war we have been waging for so long.

A still deeper cause for gratification is to be found in the announcements made by the British and American Governments on the Double Tenth of their intention immediately to abrogate their extraterritorial rights in China, and enter into negotiations with a view to making all relevant adjustments in their relations with the Chinese Government. There will, therefore, be no occasion to wait until after the war for the abolition of extraterritoriality. The gratitude we feel and the encouragement we have derived are inseparable from an added sense of our great responsibility. We are fully aware that since our allies have accorded us equality of status it stands to reason we shall rightly be expected to bear up a share of the war burden no less heavy than theirs.

There are four points of vital importance in the present situation.

- (1) The power of the Axis having passed the zenith of its development is now on the decline. Its final defeat is a matter of certainty.
- (2) The war will be of long duration and a conclusion is not to be looked for within any short period of time.
- (3) The rapidity and volume of Allied war production are such that victory is assured to the cause of the nations fighting aggression.
- (4) The present conflict will issue in a thoroughly conclusive decision and the post-war world

will undoubtedly be one wherein all nations can live in freedom and equality of status one with another. The moral prestige of the nations which have contributed most to the victory will be correspondingly high.

The chief features of our efforts henceforth must be "endurance and conscientiousness." We shall be able to sustain those efforts only by conscientious striving towards a total victory. The war in China is already unique for its length and after more than five years the privations with which we are afflicted are nothing to be surprised at. We must rouse our energies and summon up the maximum of our national strength to meet the difficulties to be overcome. Trepidation or unwillingness to make sacrifices will rob us of the fruition of our past exertions.

Modern warfare is by no means merely a matter of military operation. Economic affairs stand together with them in the first rank of the factors of importance. The implementation of the National General Mobilization Legislation and the advancement of economic policy will therefore have an immense influence on the course of the war. If we fail to mobilize our manpower to effect complete economic control, to stabilize prices, to adjust production and distribution, repeated successes at the front will not free the nation from its peril.

Let us take note of the way in which America, whose national strength is greater than ours, after less than a year of war has already instituted full economic control and mobilized her manpower to an astonishing extent. She has recently announced that the lower age limit for military service has been changed from twenty to eighteen. In China, however, there is still a lack of spontaneous enlistment in national military and labor service. There is still extensive waste of manpower and inadequate restriction of consumption. We have not succeeded in establishing fully effective control of commodities and prices. To a considerable degree social life is as lax now as in peace time since many merchants have taken selfish advantage of wartime conditions to profiteer and enrich themselves. Enthusiastic patriotism is widely absent among the people and habits of self-seeking and neglect of the public interest remain as obstacles to the success of the Government's economic policy.

If this state of affairs continues the prosecution of the war will

be seriously impeded. The Government is determined, however, to effect complete application of National General Mobilization, to exercise comprehensive economic control in order to stabilize the national economy and to override all obstructions in its course to those ends. The help of persons of influence in society is required if satisfactory progress is to be made in this respect and the good offices of your Councillors and those of local county and provincial councils can prove invaluable in bringing about the desired effect.

I trust that Councillors will bear in mind the following four points in providing leadership for the people and assisting the Government:

First, an attempt must be made to correct the prevailing tone of social life and promote the practice of all necessary principles of conduct in time of war. This means stimulating frugality and a sense of urgency, reprehending indolence and preventing extravagance.

Second, prices must be stabilized for this is fundamentally necessary to the strengthening of war economy. For the success of all restrictive measures imposed, the investigation of marketing and distribution conditions, the detection of illicit practices, the facilitating of transportation, the control of commodities and the application of the rationing system, your leadership is needed.

Third, in concentrating the nation's resources it is essential to make the people understand that wartime financial policy is founded upon revenue from taxation, subscription to public loans, the collection of land tax in kind and the promotion of savings. Consequently the enthusiastic support of the people must be had for the effective imposition of direct taxation, the soliciting of subscriptions to war bonds, the compulsory purchase of materials of war, the limitation of high incomes and the control of profits and rates of interest. Only on this condition can the issue of currency be kept within proper bounds and a firm foundation for the national livelihood be secured.

Fourth, the conscription of manpower for military and labor service will, it is to be hoped, be supplemented by the promotion of voluntary enlistment and the prevention of evasion and abuses. The system of stage transportation must be further expanded to employ more fully in this way the labor power of the people. The utilization of spare

time in labor service on the part of young students and professional men is also to be urged, women encouraged to devote their energies to productive activities and all other means sought to bring out total manpower to bear in resistance and reconstruction.

This assembly follows closely upon the promised abolition of extraterritoriality by Great Britain and the United States and our country is being watched by the world with fresh interest. This should stir our Government and people to a more positive awareness of our responsibilities and invigorate our resolve worthily to advance the cause of the United Nations.

# *From equality to ideal unity*

*An address at the closing ceremony of the Third People's Political Council, October 31, 1942.*

For ten days this session has been sitting and all you Councillors have been unsparing of your energies by night and by day in deliberating upon military affairs, foreign policy, internal administration, finance, economy and education. You have dealt with present problems and plans for future improvements and have arrived at a great number of concrete and detailed resolutions. You have especially concentrated your attention upon means of strengthening the war effort, mobilizing manpower and resources and controlling prices. In order to facilitate and expedite the application of the National General Mobilization Act and wartime economic measures in general, we have resolved to set up within this Council a committee for the advancement of economic mobilization. Henceforth we must unanimously proceed to do all we can to inspire our fellow countrymen with the determination to fulfill the duties of citizenship in time of war in such a way that the national policy may be completely carried out and final victory won.

The present session has been conducted in an extremely practical and factual spirit. It has been pervaded with an exhilarating atmosphere of determination to meet growing difficulties with redoubled resolution. I wish now to make some remarks in which I shall express the hopes I entertain regarding your future work.

One of the deepest causes for gratification we and our fellow countrymen find in recent events is, of course, the abolition of the unequal treaties. In this respect there is nothing specific to report at present but I wish to stress the importance of the fact that Great Britain and the United States should have spontaneously made this proposal with such sincerity of intention that an entirely satisfactory outcome of the negotiations is already assured us in principle. I believe the essential thing at the moment is how after we have gained equality

of status with other nations we are to exert ourselves and not fall short of our allies' expectations of us or fail worthily to play the part of a modern and independent nation. Consider how momentous an episode in the history of the nation is this deliverance from the shackles that have bound it for a hundred years. All of you here today from the oldest to the youngest member have without exception grown up out of a period of repeated national humiliations.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Republic, made it his great aim in his revolutionary leadership to secure freedom and equality of status for China among the nations of the world. The Principle of Nationhood had first to be applied before obstacles to the solution of problems involved in the application of the Principles of Rights and Livelihood could be removed. The vindication of our national honor has been the unvarying demand of the whole Chinese people, alike of those who were and were not actually concerned with the work of the Revolution. Now the way is open to that goal and the occasion calls for a proper sense of its unique importance on the part of every citizen.

Let us look back over the history of the nation's sufferings since the establishment of the Republic and to the time of the Northern Expedition that put an end to the civil wars waged by the militarists. In 1927 the world began to understand China and if it had not been for troubles at home and menace from without the unequal treaties would have been abolished long ago. Half of the obstacles were due to mischief done by the Japanese imperialists and half to pretexts founded upon our own lack of unity. The present success is the result of more than five years of war. Now we must go on to display with firmer solidarity the greater effort our full comprehension of the stages by which the Revolution has been advancing and concentrate our will and activity upon victory in resistance and the complete application of the Three Principles of the People. This is the first point I hope you will endeavor to bring to your fellow countrymen's notice.

Having now attained equality of status with our allies and other nations of the world, we must shoulder the responsibilities this age has laid upon us. The nation is responsible not only for its own interests but also for those of the world. No difficulties or sacrifices must deter us from the fulfillment of our duties as one unit of the forces of the United Nations and after the war we must be prepared, as a

progressive and free nation devoted to the cause of justice, to do all that is required of us in collaborating with those nations to recreate world order and effect the deliverance of mankind. China is the largest and most ancient of Asiatic countries but it is not for us boastfully to talk of her right to a position of "leadership" among those countries. In the spirit of the saying "All men are brothers" we shall rather regard it as our responsibility to treat the peoples of Asia, like all suffering and oppressed humanity elsewhere, as equals to help and support. Recognizing equality as the highest guiding principle of international affairs, we shall do well neither to underestimate nor overestimate our own importance and dignity. It is precisely Japanese militarism with its ambition of dominating Asia under the pretense of organizing a "Co-prosperity Sphere for Greater East Asia" that constitutes the universal enemy we are determined to crush.

We have been fighting this war of resistance with purity of motive and consistency of principle—not for any selfish purpose but for the salvation of the world through first saving ourselves. Towards Asia as towards the whole world we wish only to do our duty to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desires incompatible with the moral dictates of love and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit. The aim of the Revolution is, so far as the interests of China herself are concerned, the restoration of her original frontiers and in regard to the rest of the world a gradual advance of all nations from the stage of equality to that of an ideal unity. Such is the full extent of our desire. Every citizen should take stock of his country's position.

The Washington conference made China one of the four main powers and that was an expression of the high regard in which our allies hold us, yet the degree to which our national reconstruction and strength are inadequate in comparison with other powers must fill us with a sense of unworthiness. With the continual and fierce development of hostilities we must go about the discharging of our responsibility toward the world by building up our own strength and intensifying our preparations for a general counter-offensive. In the present period we must stand firm, permit ourselves no vainglorious thoughts or rashness and never slacken in our vigilance. This is the second point I would have you Councillors impress upon your fellow countrymen.



In all matters relating to efficiency in military operations and administration both your unreserved advice and assistance are needed by the Government. The nation has not yet in many respects met fundamental requirements for the implementation of its war policy. There is no uniform standard of knowledge pervading among the people and this is one very undeniable difficulty and shortcoming. We must make a searching review of our national circumstances, devise practical measures, coordinate our efforts and proceed fully conscious of the indivisibility of our interests, to reinvigorate our national strength by urging the whole people to exertion in the common cause. The nation's affairs should be regarded as indistinguishable from the individual's. The failings of the nation or of individual citizens, should make us all equally ashamed. We must convert indifference into enthusiasm, negative attitudes into positive, get rid of irresponsibility and replace the tendency to blame others by willingness to cooperate with others.

The future status of our nation can have no resemblance to what it was in the past. Our intelligentsia and men of influence in society cannot therefore any longer maintain that posture of complacent aloofness they so often affected in the past, for now the nation needs their services. Their fellow citizens need their instruction and guidance, and youth their leadership. What I trust you will do is positively to make yourselves responsible to the nation and people by providing enthusiastic leadership in the work of cultivating new political and social tendencies and eradicating the bad old habits of insincerity, display, indolence and dilatoriness. Every citizen must realize that the status we have now acquired is the fruit of fifty years revolutionary endeavor and five years of war. It might be lost as easily as it was gained with difficulty.

If we cannot bring to the fore the virtues of energy and thrift for which our people is renowned and cultivate habits of endurance and conscientiousness but continue to present the spectacle of disunity described in the phrase "a tray of loose sand," each man for himself, false to others and self-deceiving, we shall never be able to give our society or our nation a place in the modern world. It will reject us and if we cannot overcome the aggressor who is the final obstacle of our national rehabilitation we shall have wasted our former toil and generations of our people yet unborn will be enslaved.

The reform of our social modes of thought and life is the essential means to national salvation. We must rouse our fellow countrymen to awareness and circumspection that they may avoid all activity and thought that conflict with the process of modernization, all feudalistic provincialism and sectionalism that undermine the authority of the Government. The nation must be led solely to value the unique opportunity it now possesses of restoring its pristine glory and demonstrating the spirit of selfless devotion to the universal good which is the salient feature of its cultural tradition. There must be a rebirth of that spirit such as will enable us to fight and to build with success. This is the third point I have to recommend to you as a keynote of your activities as leaders of your people.

The recent war situation is more favorable than that of any other time when the Council has met. We can preceive the coming of the dawn both of victory in war and success in national reconstruction. The problems of the future will, however, be numerous and the crisis through which the Revolution will yet have to pass confront us in anticipation. The recovery of full health and vigor in a country afflicted with so many maladies as ours has been, will not be so easy a matter as some may suppose.

The fate of the nation is now in the balance. We must look to ourselves for the strength to win survival for our country. Its destiny will depend upon men of our generation. We must not allow any particular set of circumstances to affect the fixed conception of our mission. Only by a great devotion to the cause can we act up to the achievements of these years of war and carry on the unfinished work of the Revolutionary martyrs.

One of the most important duties of you Councillors who are about to return to the localities from which you have come will be the expediting in all ways that lie within your power of national mobilization and the work of the committee for the advancement of economic mobilization. These are days in which the nation's hopes are high and in which at the same time the weight of our duties is constantly growing. I trust that you will all strive your utmost in that national service that is yours.

# From men's oldest parliament

*Speeches of Generalissimo Chiang and members of the British Parliamentary Mission at a banquet given by the Generalissimo in their honor on November 11, 1942.*

I deem it a great pleasure to have the privilege of extending to you on behalf of the people of China a cordial and hearty welcome. We have been looking forward to your visit with eagerness and we are all the more delighted to have you with us because this is, I understand, the first time that the British Parliament—the oldest representative assembly in the world—sends an official mission abroad.

You have come from afar after an arduous trip to bring us a message of goodwill from your great nation, to acquaint yourselves and take back with you the hopes of the future of our people regarding your people and to strengthen the bonds of comradeship between us. Your mission is on everybody's lips and your presence cannot fail to be a source of encouragement and inspiration to the Chinese Army and people.

We Chinese have a saying, "To see even only once is better than to learn from a hundred reports"—which is equivalent to your "Seeing is believing." From your own observation you will not fail to notice the deep appreciation of the Chinese Government and people for the moral and material assistance you have rendered them in their struggle.

We are sincerely touched by the widespread sympathetic interest of the British people in our ordeal and by the innumerable tokens of sympathy as manifested in the incessant efforts to enlist support for our cause. The present United Aid to China Fund, the recent renunciation of extraterritoriality and related rights, and the visit of your mission itself are to us additional proof of Great Britain's friendship for China.

I hope that you will gain a true picture of the severity of our

trials and tribulations in these five long years, the grimness of our determination to prosecute the war to total victory and the firmness of our faith in the ultimate triumph of the common cause to which our people have dedicated themselves.

For several years we fought alone against aggression in this part of the world but never for a moment did we lose faith in the ultimate outcome of our resistance against aggression for as one of our ancient sages, Mencius, said, "He who has a just cause receives aid from many quarters." How true these words ring today.

Now that our two countries and the other United Nations are intimately bound together in a common cause and a common destiny it behooves all of us to cooperate to the fullest extent and I know we are equally resolved to do it—not only in the prosecution of the war but also in the building up of a saner and happier world.

*Response of Lord Ailwyn, member of the House of Lords.*

May I express on behalf of the British Parliamentary Delegation our most grateful thanks to Your Excellency for your very kind welcome to us here this evening and for words with which you have been good enough to address us.

The British people were not slow to realize the importance and the significance of Your Excellency's request that a Parliamentary Mission should visit this country. They were, too, greatly pleased at the interest and satisfaction expressed in messages from China welcoming this visit. It is as Your Excellency has said a unique event—the first of its kind, I believe, in British Parliamentary history—and we are very proud to find ourselves here as members of this mission.

We were delighted with the warm and enthusiastic welcome which we received on our arrival at Chungking yesterday and we shall not fail to tell them at home of the kindness extended to us both in the matter of our reception and in the thought and consideration given to our comfort and welfare for the term of our visit.

Before leaving London we were received by His Majesty the King who charged us with the delivery to His Excellency the President of

the National Government of a personal letter of greeting from His Majesty. We were further entrusted with two personal letters to Your Excellency, one from our Prime Minister Mr. Churchill and the other from the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain and the Speaker of the House of Commons. We have been happy to carry out these duties and we have had the honor of delivering these letters today.

Your Excellency, we have come to China with the keenest anticipation. We hope to see all that it is possible to show us of the great and valiant work of the Chinese people and of the Chinese Army under the inspiring leadership of Your Excellency through nearly five and a half years of epic struggle. Nor do we forget the noble work and high courage of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, some of the results of whose labors up and down the country we shall also hope to see. We should like, if you will permit us, to tell you something of the British war effort and of our inflexible will and determination not to sheath the sword until out of this welter of bloodshed and suffering there emerges a world purged once and for all of the forces of evil which now beset the peace-loving peoples of the world.

May I express once more to Your Excellency our deep sense of gratitude for this great privilege which is ours of visiting your great country and for your kind hospitality to us this evening.

*Response of Mr. J. J. Lawson, member of the House of Commons.*

We count it a privilege to visit your country at a time when China and her people have won the admiration of the world by their heroic and long-sustained stand against a cruel and powerful enemy. It is not only a privilege but a very great honor to come at the invitation of your Government to represent the Parliament of Great Britain.

Two of our members are Conservatives, one is a Liberal, one is a Socialist. But whatever our political views, however we may differ, we have one strong bond of unity today, and that is rooted in the view of the British people and its Parliament, to utterly destroy the Fascist enemy in Germany and Japan.

To that end the whole life of the people of Britain is dedicated. In times of peace we never had more than fourteen million industrial

workers. Since the war we have turned twenty-three million men and women to the production of armaments out of a population of forty-six millions. In addition we have sent millions into the armed forces and great numbers to civil defense.

It can be truly said that today in Britain, apart from the very old and very young, everybody is engaged in the common struggle with the enemy. You in this land were the first to meet the onslaught of cruel men upon the decent peace-loving people of the world. You met the attack with a courage and fortitude which has gained for the Chinese people the gratitude of the Allied Nations. We are proud to be standing side by side with you.

When the old lost sense of security is restored by victory I trust that the friendship welded by the fires of war may enable us to work together for the establishment of that permanent peace in which new triumphs of culture will be achieved and new depths of human friendship sounded among the nations of the earth.

# ***Patriotism is not enough***

*A message to the eleventh annual New York Herald Tribune Forum on Current Problems delivered on November 17, 1942.*

The political testament of the Father of our Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, began with the reminder to his followers, "The Revolution is not yet achieved." Even after the National Revolution succeeded in overthrowing the war lords and unified China in 1927, we have continued to characterize our Government as a Revolutionary Government.

Critics asked, now that you have established a Government of all China, why do you persist in calling yourselves a Revolutionary Government? What do you mean by Revolution?

The answer is that what we mean by Revolution is the attainment of all three of Dr. Sun's basic principles of national revolution: national independence, progressive realization of democracy, and a rising level of living conditions for the masses. When victory comes at the end of this war, we shall have fully achieved national independence but will have far to go to attain our other two objectives. Hence our claim that ours is still a Revolutionary Government which means no more or less than it is a government dedicated to attaining these other two objectives.

Insisting on national independence for all peoples, Dr. Sun's vision transcends the problem of China, and seeks equality for all peoples, East and West alike. China not only fights for her own independence, but also for the liberation of every oppressed nation. For us the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's proclamation of the Four Freedoms for all peoples are cornerstones of our fighting faith.

For many centuries Chinese society has been free of class distinctions such as are found even in advanced democracies. At the core of our political thought is our traditional maxim, "The people form the foundation of the country". We Chinese are instinctively

democratic, and Dr. Sun's objective of universal suffrage evokes from all Chinese a ready and unhesitating response. But the processes and forms by which the will of the people is made manifest, and the complex machinery of modern democratic government cannot, I know to my cost, be created overnight, especially under the constant menace and attack of Japanese militarism.

During the last years of his life Dr. Sun devoted much of his forward thinking to the economic reconstruction of China, and nothing, I believe, so marked his greatness as his insistence that the coming tremendous economic reconstruction of China should benefit not the privileged few but the entire nation.

The absence of a strong central government capable of directing economic development, the bondage of unequal treaties trying to keep China as a semi-colony for others, and above all the jealous machinations of Japan, all these greatly retarded the economic reconstruction to which the National Revolution of China is dedicated.

But the end of the present war will find China freed of her bondage, with a vigorous government and a people ardent with desire to rebuild their country. I feel the force of this desire as a tidal wave which will not only absorb the energies of our people for a century but will also bring lasting benefits to the entire world.

But the bright promise of the future, which has done much to sustain us during our grim struggle with Japan, will cruelly vanish if after paying the price this second time we do not achieve the reality of world cooperation.

I hear that my American friends have confidence in the experience of men who have "come up the hard way". My long struggles as a soldier of the Chinese Revolution have forced me to realize the necessity of facing hard facts. There will be neither peace, nor hope, nor future for any of us unless we honestly aim at political, social and economic justice for all peoples of the world, great and small. But I feel confident that we of the United Nations can achieve that aim only by starting at once to organize an international order embracing all peoples to enforce peace and justice among them. To make that start we must begin today and not tomorrow to apply these principles among ourselves even at some sacrifice to the absolute powers of our



individual countries. We should bear in mind one of the most inspiring utterances of the last World War, that of Edith Cavell:

“Standing at the brink of the grave, I feel that  
Patriotism alone is not enough.”

We Chinese are not so blind as to believe that the new international order will usher in the millennium. But we do not look upon it as visionary. The idea of universal brotherhood is innate in the catholic nature of Chinese thought; it was the dominant concept of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, whom events have proved time and again to be not a visionary but one of the world's greatest realists.

Among our friends there has been recently some talk of China emerging as the leader of Asia, as if China wished the mantle of an unworthy Japan to fall on her shoulders. Having herself been a victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for the submerged nations of Asia, and towards them China feels she has only responsibilities—not rights. We repudiate the idea of leadership of Asia because the “Fuehrer principle” has been synonymous for domination and exploitation, precisely as the “East Asia co-prosperity sphere” has stood for a race of mythical supermen lording over grovelling subject races.

China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism or isolationism of its own or of any one else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliances and regional blocs which in the end make for bigger and more terrible wars, to effective organization of world unity. Unless real world cooperation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new inter-dependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us.









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